

Spolia from the Baths of Caracalla in Sta. Maria in Trastevere

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Eight third-century Ionic capitals with images of Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates, now in the nave colonnades of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, were taken from one or both of the rooms currently identified as libraries in the Baths of Caracalla. The capitals were transferred around 1140, when the church was rebuilt by Pope Innocent II. The capitals would have been acquired by confiscation, juridically the pope's prerogative as head of the papal state; the lavish display of all kinds of spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere is here interpreted as a self-conscious demonstration of that prerogative. The identity of the capitals' pagan images would have been unknown to most twelfth-century observers, because the only accessible keys to the correct identifications were one sentence in Varro's De lingua latina *and another in Saint Augustine's* De civitate Dei. *Philological accuracy in interpretation is an anachronistic expectation in any case; medieval readings of the images would have been fanciful, based on associations unexpected from a twentieth-century point of view.*

The nave colonnades of the Roman church of Sta. Maria in Trastevere display eighteen pre-medieval capitals (Fig. 1), eight of which form a set, traceable to a single ancient source. In a medieval context these capitals are unusual, first, because their provenance can be precisely identified, and, second, because of their pagan figural imagery. It is the purpose of this article to clarify the facts about the capitals' reuse, and to investigate the possible meanings of the imagery to those who built and visited the church.

Founded by Pope Julius I in the fourth century, Sta. Maria in Trastevere was rebuilt from the foundations by Pope Innocent II between 1140 and 1143.[1] The eight matched capitals were distributed on both sides of the twelfth-century nave: three in the south (left) colonnade, and five in the north (Fig. 2). The most distinctive features of these Ionic capitals are the heads that project from the center of each abacus, and the heads or busts in the center of each volute (Figs. 3, 5-10). Otherwise, the capitals are profusely decorated with leafy vines in the spirals of the volutes, a Lesbian leaf on the abacus, hanging acanthus leaves on the astragal, and bundled acanthus leaves around the cushions. The sumptuous conception and the competent yet inelegant execution strongly suggest a third-century date, which is not contradicted by an obvious lack of standardization. There are visible differences in size and considerable variation in the degree of finish of the capitals' fourth side (turned toward the aisle in Sta. Maria in Trastevere), which in some cases is only roughly blocked out, but in others is shaped and carved in some detail (Figs. 4, 9).[2]

The heads projecting from the abaci are of two types: a full-bearded, Jovian male wearing a tapering cylindrical hat and a young woman with long hair and a veil. In the volutes, six capitals display plump, androgynous figures with fingers raised to their lips, the characteristic gesture of Harpocrates. The men on these capitals would therefore be Serapis wearing the *modius*, and the women would be Isis. On two capitals the volutes contain female heads instead of Harpocrates (Figs. 7, 10), and the gods on them may have been different, although they also were a bearded male and veiled female.[3]

Only three of the projecting heads can be called intact, despite the capitals' otherwise good condition. One head of Serapis and one of Isis have been seriously damaged, and three heads have been entirely knocked off (Figs. 7,

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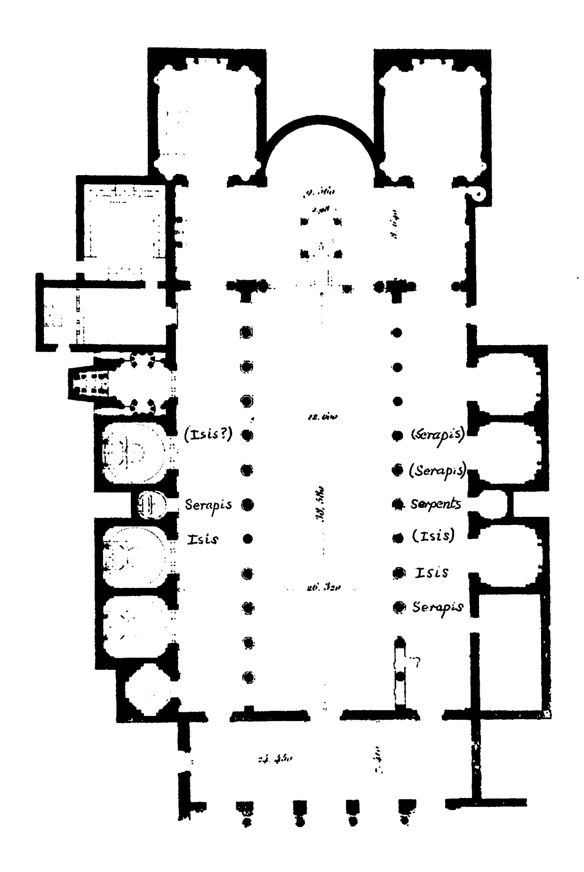
[1] For the documentation of the rebuilding, see D. Kinney, "S. Maria in Trastevere from Its Founding to 1215," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975 (University Microfilms 76-10, 185), chap. 5.

[2] Complete descriptions of each capital are given in the excellent catalogue by E. von Mercklin, *Antike Figuralkapitelle*, Berlin, 1962, 123-25, cat. no. 338 a-h.

[3] *Ibid.*, cat. no. 338 c, d.



1 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, interior (photo: Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione, Rome, Ser. D No. 1822)



2 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, ground plan by P. Letarouilly, *Edifices de Rome moderne*, III, pl. 327 (photo: Michael Pirrocco)

8).[4] Lanciani wrote that these figures were "martellati e distrutti" in 1870, during the restoration of Sta. Maria in Trastevere initiated by Pope Pius IX.[5] Although the charge was denied by a contemporary, it is confirmed in old guidebooks. Baedeker's German edition of 1865-66 drew attention to "22 ancient, unmatched columns, which show on some of the Ionic capitals pagan gods, like Jupiter [and] Harpocrates with his finger to his mouth"; the English edition of 1872 reported that "[these] heathen deities . . . were removed during the restoration of the church in 1870."[6] We may assume, then, that the capitals were uniformly well preserved until the nineteenth-century restoration.

The first attempts to determine the origin of the capitals were based on their iconography. Angelo Uggeri, recognizing Harpocrates but thinking that the heads on the abaci represented diverse gods, including Jupiter Ammon, proposed that the capitals came from the bedroom of Augustus (his legendary *camera* on the Capitoline hill), "où devoit régner naturellement un profond silence."[7] Thirty years later Antonio Nibby, realizing that the gods depicted are Isis and Serapis, attributed the capitals to the Iseum et Serapeum in Regio IX, Campus Martius,[8] and a similar provenance was independently deduced some decades later by Georges Lafaye.[9] The notion that the capitals came from a sanctuary of Egyptian gods in Rome has been repeated in studies of Sta. Maria in Trastevere by Armellini[10] and Cecchelli,[11] and also recently by several authors of the "Études prélimi-

[4] This count does not include two undamaged heads on the rough sides of capitals N4 (Isis) and N8 (Serapis; Fig. 9). The latter makes it possible to reconstruct the destroyed head on the front of N8 as Serapis, and the remains of a veil indicate that the head on N5 was Isis; Von Mercklin (as in n. 2), cat. no. 338 c, e. Nothing is left of the head on S8.

[5] R. Lanciani, "L'*Iseum et Serapeum* della Regione IX," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, XI, 1883, 35.

[6] K. Baedeker, *Italien: Handbuch für Reisende*, II, *Mittel-Italien und Rom*, 3rd ed., Coblenz, 1865-66, 267; *idem, Italy; Handbook for Travelers*, II, *Central Italy and Rome*, 3rd ed., Coblenz, 1872, 229. In a diary preserved in the archive of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Canon Gioacchino Cressedi insisted, wrongly it seems, that the capitals were damaged before the restoration: Vicariato di Roma, Archivio Capitolare di S. Maria in Trastevere, Storia della Basilica, A-2, "Diario dei lavori di restauro e di decorazione della Basilica di S. Maria in Trastevere nel Pontificato di Pio IX," a.d. 14 agosto 1870.

[7] A. Uggeri, *Journées pittoresques des édifices de Rome ancienne*, Supplement, Pt. II, *Edifices de la Décadence*, Rome, 1809, 63. For the "camera Octaviani imperatoris" on the Capitol, see *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, c. 11, ed. R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, III, Rome, 1946, 28-29.

[8] A. Nibby, *Roma nell'anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, II (Rome, 1839), repr. Bologna, 1971, 674; repeated dubiously by Lanciani (as in n. 5), 35, 56.

[9] G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie: Serapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1883, 269, cat. no. 15.

[10] M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1891, 639.

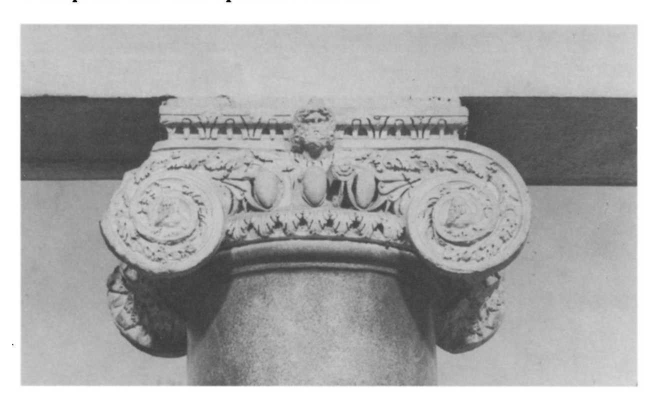
[11] C. Cecchelli, *S. Maria in Trastevere* (*Le Chiese di Roma illustrate*, XXXI-II), Rome, n.d. [1934], 37-38.



3 Capital S5, Isis and Harpocrates (photo: author)



4 Capital S5, rear (photo: author)



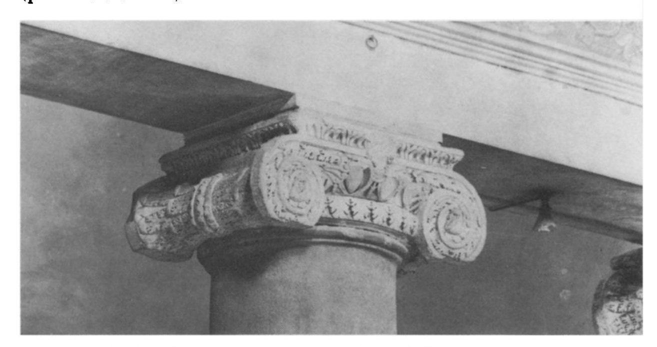
5 Capital S6, Serapis and Harpocrates (photo: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Rome, No. 7585)



6 Capital N3, Serapis and Harpocrates (photo: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Rome, No. 7586A)



7 Capital N5, Isis (destroyed) and female heads (photo: author)



8 Capital N8, Serapis (destroyed) and Harpocrates (photo: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Rome, No. 7591)



9 Capital N8, rear, Serapis (photo: author)



10 Capital N7, left volute, female head (photo: author)

3-10 Sta. Maria in Trastevere

naires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain."[12] The case for such a provenance rests exclusively on iconographic association, and it has never been confirmed archaeologically at any of the sites proposed.

The Source of the Capitals in the Baths of Caracalla

In 1898 Christian Hülsen published a commentary on the drawings of the Baths of Caracalla by the Russian architect Sergiei Andreevich Ivanov, who studied the ruins from 1847 to 1849.[13] The superb text incorporates information from all kinds of sources, including excavations begun in 1878. It was Michael Rostovtzev, the translator of Hülsen's commentary into Russian, who first noticed the relevance of a find of 1881 to the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. "In der Front des südlichen Seitensaales L nach dem Xystus zu standen vier grosse Monolithen aus grauem Granit: zwei Schäfte (Durchm. 1,10 m.) sind 1881 hier gefunden, ebenso ein dazugehöriges ionisches Kapitell aus weissem Marmor. . . ."[14] The capital survives only in a faulty engraving, which omits a figure of Harpocrates in the volute (Fig. 11).[15] Even so, the illustration corroborates Rostovtzev's opinion that the excavated capital belonged "in eine Reihe" with those in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Dimensions bear him out as well: according to Hülsen, the lost capital was 1.45m wide and the diameter of its volute was .44m; capital N7 in Sta. Maria in Trastevere measures 1.51m and .46m at the same points.[16]

Scholarship since Hülsen has produced nothing to contradict the association of the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere with the Baths of Caracalla, while two important contributions have confirmed it. The first is the discovery in the same area of the Baths of yet another capital of the same series, "uguale ad un altro [capitello] già conosciuto e a quelli che sono in Sta. Maria in Trastevere," reported by E. Ghislanzoni in the *Notizie degli Scavi* in 1912.[17] The second is the publication of Eugen von Mercklin's corpus of *Antike Figuralkapitelle* in 1962, which permits a ready overview of all known comparanda. From this it emerges that we are dealing with a unique type of Ionic capital, of which the only known examples are the eight in Sta. Maria in Trastevere and the two found *in situ* in the Baths of Caracalla.

The find spot of both capitals was the same: the south corner of the *xystus*, in front of the pendant to the room marked *L* on Ivanov's plan (Fig. 12) and *G* on the plan by E. Gatti, published by Ghislanzoni (Fig. 13, ε). The room itself is not shown on either plan, because it had disappeared before the nineteenth century (Fig. 14). Du Pérac's map of 1577, eerily like the Alinari photograph, shows that this part of the building was already completely covered in his time (Fig. 15).[18] On the other hand, at least three architects — Baldassarre Peruzzi, Giovanni Battista da Sangallo, and Andrea Palladio — drew ground plans of the area between 1525 and 1547 (Figs. 17-19),[19] and the plan of Rome published by Bartolomeo Marliano in 1544 shows this part of the building intact, although threatened by the "piccolo Aventino," which eventually engulfed it (Fig. 16).[20] Although the Marliano map unquestionably exaggerates the Baths' completeness, there seems to be no reason to doubt that in the 1530's and 1540's the outlines of the south corner of the outer building could still be traced.

The elevation of the lost room can be reconstructed on the model of its relatively well preserved western twin, whose walls have survived to the twentieth century and were thoroughly cleaned and refaced two years ago (Figs. 20, 21).[21] Ghislanzoni studied this room in 1912, and proposed that it was built as a library, with wooden *armaria* in the niches and a statue of Minerva in the apse.[22] His identification has been widely repeated almost without question, and it will be used here, pending the results of

[12] M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie*, Leiden, 1972, 231, cat. no. 423; A. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, Leiden, 1972, 33-34; G.J.F. Kater-Sibbes, *Preliminary Catalogue of Serapis Monuments*, Leiden, 1973, 121, cat. no. 653. These works contain numerous avoidable errors, of which the most egregious may be Roullet's numbering of the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere as twenty-eight rather than eight. She also (p. 4) repeats a mistake by H.P. L'Orange, who wrote that there is a set of similar capitals in S. Agnese (*Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture*, Oslo, 1947, 143, n. 39). There are no such capitals in any Roman church of S. Agnese.

[13] C. Hülsen, in *Architektonische Studien von Sergius Andrejewitsch Iwanoff*, III, Berlin, 1898, text, 21.

[14] *Ibid.*, 45.

[15] *Ibid.*, 8 (right). The omission was noted by Hülsen in his edition of H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I, 3, Berlin, 1907, 195, n. 33, and by Von Mercklin, in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XL, 1925, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, col. 168, n. 1. The capital was seen in 1924 but was not to be found after World War II, according to Von Mercklin (as in n. 2, cat. no. 338 i).

[16] Scaffolding erected for another purpose made it possible to measure capital N7 in the summer of 1985. For the lost capital, see Hülsen (as in n. 13), 77 (where, however, the reference to a "Komposit-Kapitell" is another error).

[17] E. Ghislanzoni, "Scavi nelle Terme Antoniniane," *Notizie degli scavi*, 1912, 316. This capital also has been lost.

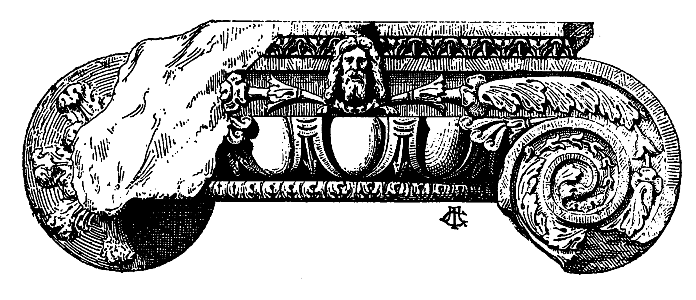
[18] A.P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, Rome, 1962, I, 186; II, fig. 248.

[19] Peruzzi's plan (Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 476; Fig. 17) is part of a group dated by Bartoli to the period 1525-32 (A. Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, II, Rome, 1915, pl. CLXXX, fig. 315; VI, Rome, n.d. [1922?], 38, 57; H. Wurm, *Baldassarre Peruzzi, Architekturzeichnungen*, Tübingen, 1984, *Tafelband*, 467). Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 1133 (Fig. 18), attributed by Bartoli to Giovanni Battista da Sangallo, is a corrected copy of the plan by Peruzzi and therefore must post-date it (Bartoli, IV, Rome, 1919, pl. CCCXIV, fig. 524; VI, 97). Palladio's plan (Fig. 19), in London, RIBA, VI, fol. 3, is dated by Spielmann to 1545-47 (G. Zorzi, *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio*, Venice, 1959, 68, cat. no. 5 [4]; H. Spielmann, *Andrea Palladio und die Antike*, Munich-Berlin, 1966, 68ff. and 159, cat. no. 137).

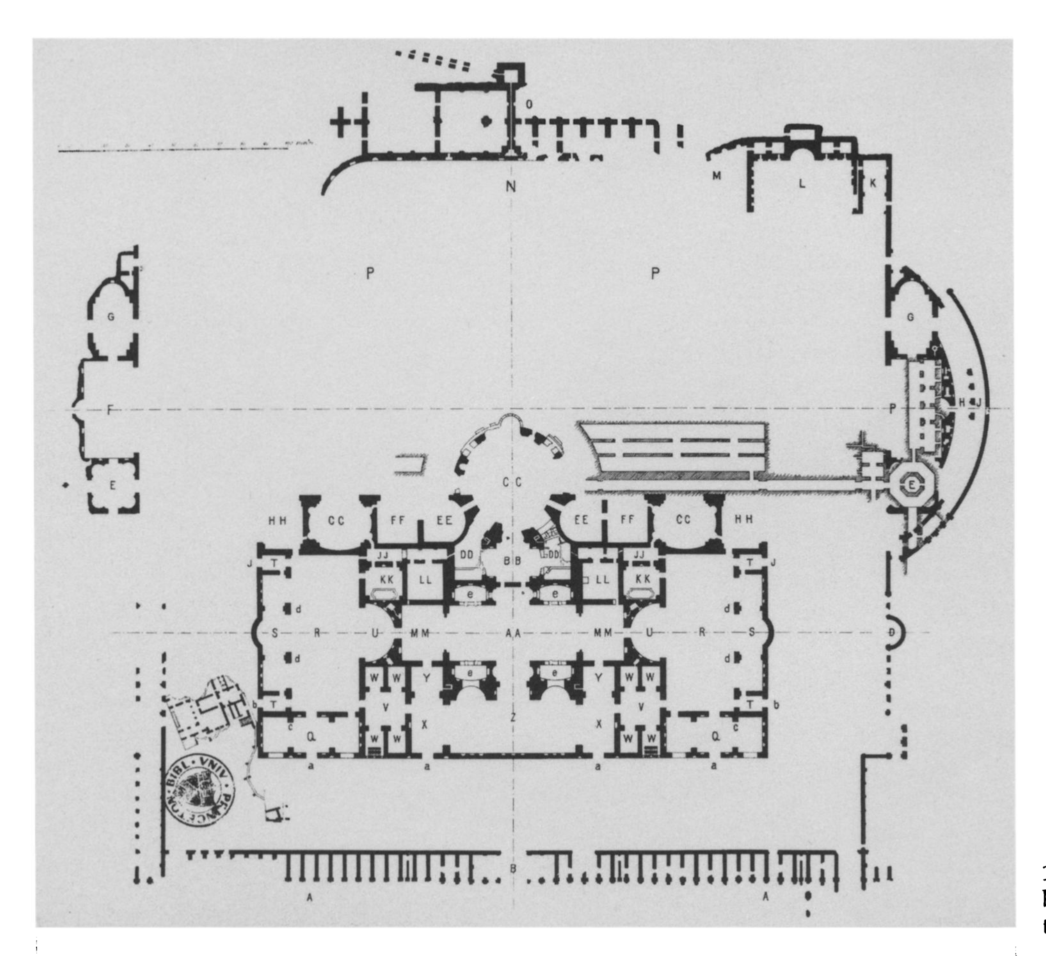
[20] Frutaz (as in n. 18), I, 56; II, fig. 21.

[21] Comune di Roma, Assessorato alla cultura, *Roma archeologia e progetto*, Rome, 1983, 115-17.

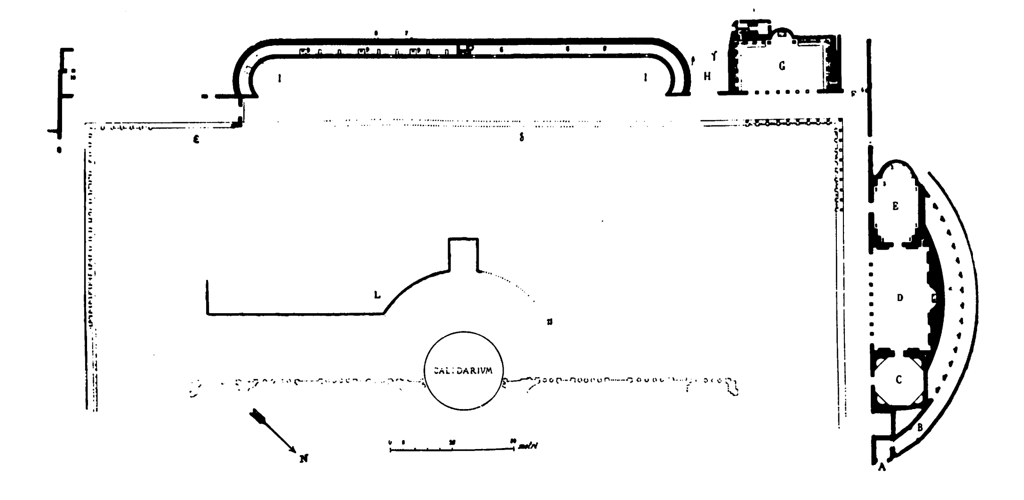
[22] Ghislanzoni (as in n. 17), 311-12.



11 Baths of Caracalla, capital found 1881 (after Hülsen, 1898, p. 8 right; photo: H. David Connelly)



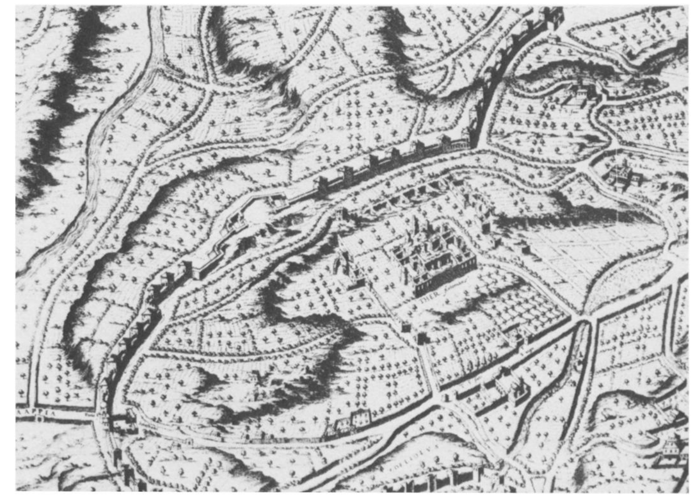
12 Baths of Caracalla, ground plan by S. Ivanov, after Hülsen, 1898, text, pl. A (photo: Connelly)



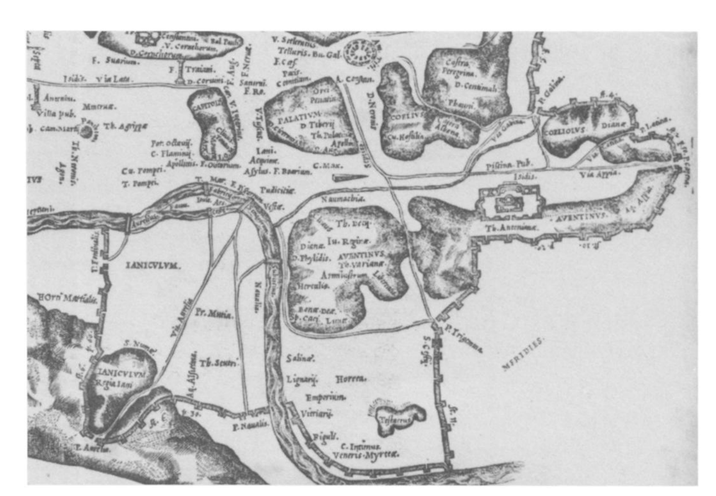
13 Baths of Caracalla, ground plan by E. Gatti, after Ghislanzoni, 1912, opp. p. 305 (photo: Karl Dimler)



14 Baths of Caracalla, view toward *xystus* and libraries, pre-1912 (photo: Alinari, No. 6357)



15 Baths of Caracalla, view by E. Du Pérac, 1577, after Frutaz, II, 248 (photo: Connelly)



16 Baths of Caracalla, ground plan by B. Marliano, after Frutaz, II, 24 (photo: Dimler)

the archaeological investigation currently underway.[23]

The west library was surveyed in the 1540's by a French architect commonly known as the Anonymous Destailleur, whose dimensioned elevation of the long wall indicates that it was still nearly 20m high when he drew it (Fig. 22).[24] His drawing is the only record of the elaborate columnar framing of the niches, which he must have seen *in situ*, because he measured the diameter of one of the columns on the lower level near the apse (.68m). Originally there were forty such columns, framing a total of thirty-two niches: six on either side of the apse in the long wall, and ten (in two rows of five) in each short wall.

The fourth side of the room opened toward the *xystus* through a colonnade of, perhaps, six columns. That number was given by Ghislanzoni, and it accords well with De Gregori's estimate that the length of the frontal opening was twenty-five meters.[25] However, other sources record ten or twelve columns in this same colonnade, while Hülsen's text, quoted earlier, seems to suggest that there were four columns.[26] At this point, since the length of the front opening has yet to be determined by modern means, it can be said only that four columns would surely have been too few, while ten or twelve are almost certainly too many.[27]

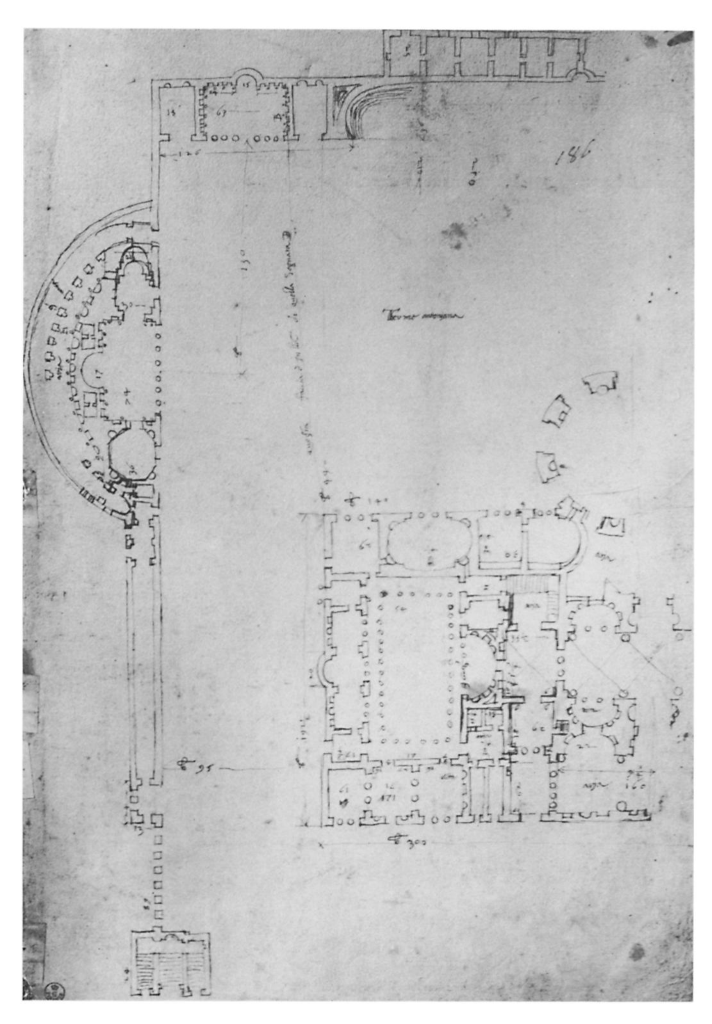
[23] G. De Gregori, "Biblioteche dell'antichità," *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, XI, 1937, 16-18; C. Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Opuscula archaeologica*, III, 1944, 164-65; J. Tønsberg, *Offentlige biblioteker i Romerriget i det 2. århundrede e. Chr.*, Copenhagen, 1976, 55-57; E. Makowiecka, *The Origin and Evolution of Architectural Form of the Roman Library*, Warsaw, 1978, 91-93; V.M. Strocka, "Römische Bibliotheken," *Gymnasium*, LXXXVIII, 1981, 315-16. Only Tønsberg expressed some reservation, noting that the lower level of niches is placed too high for easy access to the presumed bookcases. Another pertinent factor is how — or whether — the room was roofed. I am grateful to Dott.ssa Irene Iacopi of the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, who kindly discussed with me the current investigation of the west library and generously shared some of the interim results.

[24] Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Hdz. 4151, fol. 32r (E. Berckenhagen, ed., *Die französischen Zeichnungen der Kunstbibliothek Berlin. Kritischer Katalog*, Berlin, 1970, 24). Berckenhagen (pp. 28-31) dated this and related drawings to 1543-48, and proposed an identification of the author as Hugues Sambin. The drawing is dimensioned in French *pieds du roi* (1 = .325m). The vertical dimensions total 61 $\frac{1}{12}$ *pieds* = 19.85m.

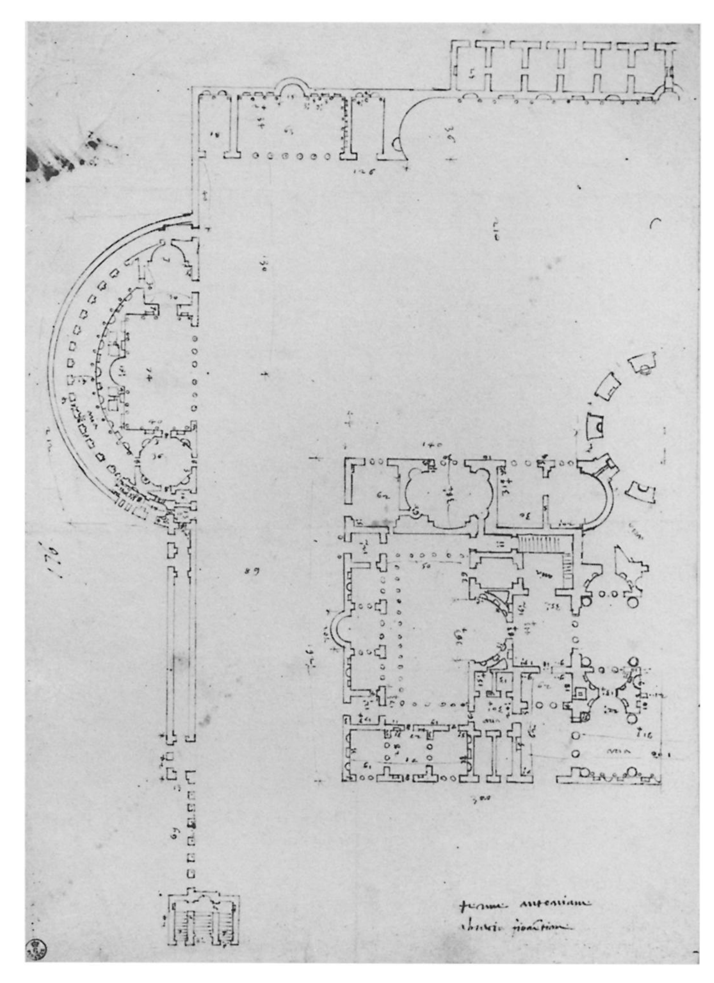
[25] Ghislanzoni (as in n. 17), 311; De Gregori (as in n. 23), 17.

[26] Hülsen (as in n. 13), 45. In the 16th century, Giovanni Battista da Sangallo drew eight and twelve columns in the front of the west library; see n. 31 below. Ivanov put twelve columns in his reconstruction of the west library façade (Hülsen, Atlas, pl. XXV. Hülsen [p. 44] wrongly associated this plate with the room marked "F" on Fig. 12). Ten columns appear on the plans published by G.A. Blouet (*Restauration des thermes d'Antonin Caracalla à Rome*, Paris, 1828, pl. V), De Gregori (as in n. 23, p. 17), Callmer (as in n. 23, p. 165), and Strocka (as in n. 23, p. 316).

[27] Vitruvius warned that when columns are placed three column-diameters or more apart, stone architraves break (*On Architecture*, III, iii, 4; transl. F. Granger, London and Cambridge, MA, 1962, I, 172-73); his ideal intercolumniation was $2\frac{1}{4}$ column-diameters (*ibid.*, III, iii, 6). The columns in the front of the libraries were 1.10m in diameter; the Vitruvian ideal intercolumniation would therefore be 2.48m. In an opening 25m long, four columns of 1.10m diameter would be 4.12m, or $3\frac{3}{4}$ column-diameters apart. In the same opening ten columns would be only 1.27m, less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ columns apart, and twelve columns would be .91m, less than one column apart. Even if the library colonnades spanned 35m rather than 25, ten and twelve columns would stand respectively only 2.18m and 1.68m apart.



17 Baths of Caracalla, partial ground plan by B. Peruzzi. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Dis. Arch. 476 (photo: Uffizi)



18 Baths of Caracalla, partial ground plan by G.B. da Sangallo. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Dis. Arch. 1133 (photo: Uffizi)

Eight is a possible number, but six is more likely because it is better attested, at least so far.

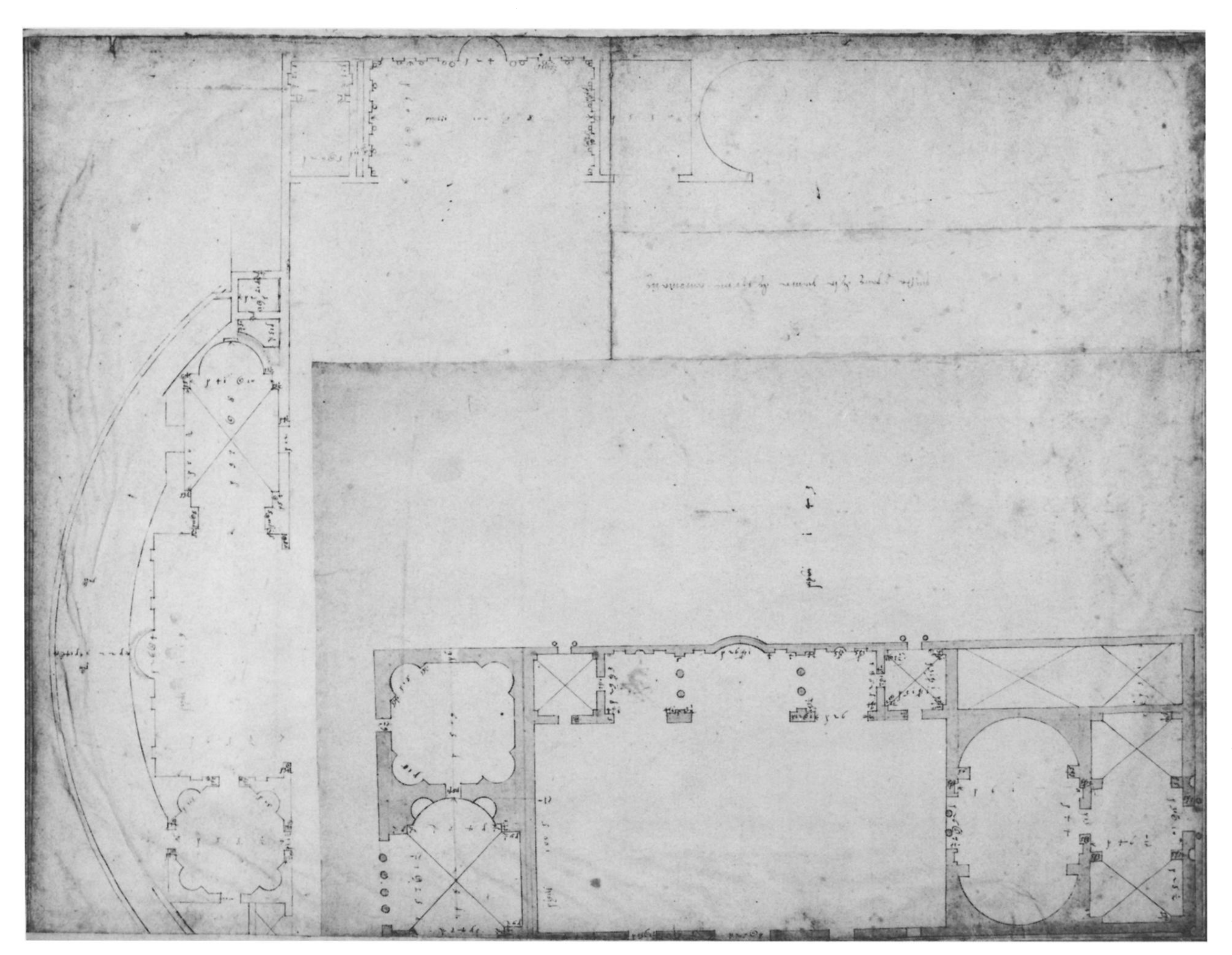
This question bears on the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, because the evidence points convincingly to their origin in one or both of the library colonnades. The two capitals excavated in 1881 and 1912 were found, as noted, in front of the south library. Hülsen associated the first-found capital with two gray granite column shafts, 1.10m in diameter, which he attributed to the library façade.[28] The other capital was found farther away (Fig. 13, ε), in front of a covered portico that bordered the *xystus*. It could not have been made for the portico, however, because — if it was in fact identical to the nine capitals known before — it would have been much larger than the portico's columns, which were .80m in diameter, according to Ghislanzoni.[29] On the other hand, if the capital originally stood in the library façade, it could have been ejected to its find spot by a violent collapse. Such a collapse would also explain the broken state of the capital illustrated by Hülsen (Fig. 11), as well as the complete disappearance of the south library by the later sixteenth century, in contrast to the continuing survival of its western mate.

Since two capitals from the south library were buried until the nineteenth or twentieth century, no more than six — and probably no more than four — could have been taken for reuse in Sta. Maria in Trastevere in the twelfth century. It follows that a minimum of four of the capitals now in Sta. Maria would have come from the other library to the west. The visible differences in size and execution among the capitals also favor an origin in two different colonnades.

As already noted, the west library was remarkably well

[28] Hülsen (as in n. 13), 45.

[29] Ghislanzoni (as in n. 17), 315.



19 Baths of Caracalla, partial ground plan by A. Palladio. London, Royal Institute of British Architects, Palladio VI/3 (photo: British Architectural Library/RIBA)

preserved as late as the 1540's. Nevertheless, most sixteenth-century ground plans do not show its colonnade.[30] Only Giovanni Battista da Sangallo entered columns in the façade, and he vacillated about their number, perhaps because he could not see them and was only estimating.[31] If the colonnade was lost before the sixteenth century, the excellent state of preservation of the rest of the room suggests that it was not lost through ruin. But it could have been robbed, which would explain both the good condition of the remaining three sides of the room and the presence of some of its Ionic capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere.

It has often been written that some or all of the column shafts in Sta. Maria in Trastevere were taken from the same source as the Ionic figured capitals,[32] but close examination shows that this cannot be so. As can be seen in the Appendix, the columns in Sta. Maria in Trastevere are very mixed, representing at least five different kinds of granite and varying 28cm in diameter — almost a full Roman foot.[33] Not one of the columns is as large as the 1.10m shaft attributed to the library colonnade by Hülsen, and the majority of them are of a different stone. The column fragments still remaining in the Baths of Caracalla are from Egypt: mostly granite from Aswan, and the so-called *granito del foro.*[34] The library shafts, described by Hülsen as "gray," would have been of *granito del foro.*[35] Of the five largest columns in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, only one, S6,

[30] Giuliano da Sangallo, Vat. Barb. Lat. 4424, fols. 66v-67r, ca. 1514-15 (C. Hülsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo, codice vaticano Barberiniano latino 4424*, Leipzig, 1910, text, xi-xii, xviii, 71); Bernardo della Volpaia, Coner Codex, p. 22, ca. 1513-15 (T. Ashby, *Sixteenth-Century Drawings of Roman Buildings Attributed to Andreas Coner*, London, 1904, 1-6 and 21, cat. no. 22; T. Buddensieg, "Bernardo della Volpaia und Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xv, 1975, 89-108); Anonymous Destailleur, Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Hdz. 4151, fol. 24v, ca. 1543-48 (Berckenhagen [as in n. 24], 24).

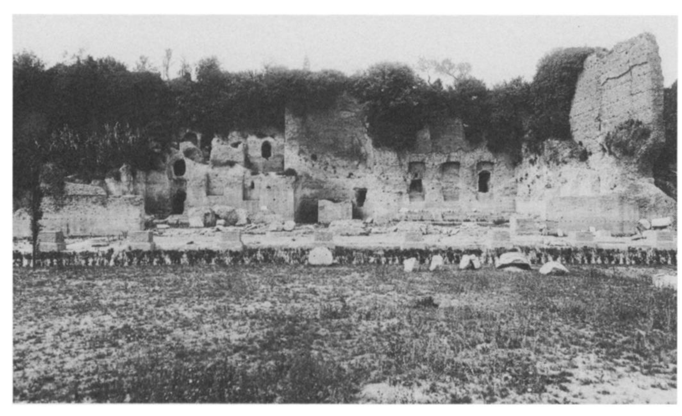
[31] Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 1381v shows four columns in half the colonnade; Uffizi, Dis. Arch. 1656 shows twelve columns (Bartoli, iv [as in n. 19], pl. cccxii, fig. 521; pl. cccxiii, fig. 522; vi, 96). Arch. 1656 is a clean copy after Arch. 1381v, and it is possible that the change from eight columns to twelve was simply a mistake.

[32] Nibby (as in n. 8), 674; Armellini (as in n. 10), 639; Hülsen (as in n. 13), 77; R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, i, Rome, 1902, 7; A. Esch, "Spolien. Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen im mittelalterlichen Italien," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, li, 1969, 12, n. 42.

[33] The identification of the materials, "all with a question mark," was kindly made by Demetrios Michaelides in 1979. For the dimensions I am indebted to Arch. Marzio Fulloni, my collaborator in a full-scale study of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, who has made newly measured plans and elevations.

[34] Again I thank Demetrios Michaelides for making the identifications.

[35] For the colors and other properties of these granites, see R. Gnoli, *Marmora romana*, Rome, 1971, 119-24.



20 Baths of Caracalla, west library, ca. 1912 (photo: Fototeca Unione, Rome, No. 3558F)



21 Baths of Caracalla, west library, 1983 (photo: author)

is of this stone. The shafts in Sta. Maria must have come, ultimately, from a number of different ancient sources. Seven of *granito del foro*, 0.95-0.98m in diameter, form a homogeneous group that could be from a single building. But the building need not have been the Baths of Caracalla, and it certainly was not the colonnade that yielded the Ionic capitals, for which these columns are visibly too small (Figs. 3, 4, 7).

A more convincing case for a provenance in the Baths of Caracalla can be made for the four ornamented bases under columns S2, S6, N4, and N6 (Figs. 23-24). These bases are in relatively poor condition and all have been cut down, so that all four lack their upper torus and three are also missing the scotia beneath it. They are deeply cut with foliate scrolls and masks on the lower torus, leafy vines on the lower scotia, a double bead-and-reel on the central fillets, and hanging acanthus leaves on the one surviving upper scotia. As with the Ionic figured capitals, both the conception and the execution of these bases unequivocally favor a third-century date. Max Wegner compared them to similarly ornamented bases once stored in the cellars of the Baths of Caracalla, and concluded that "on the whole, they are not to be dissociated stylistically" from the sculpture in the Baths.[36] More positively, Wegner identified the bases in Sta. Maria in Trastevere as "building parts from the time of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus"[37] — to whom the structures behind the *xystus*, including the libraries, have often been attributed on other grounds.[38]

The size of the bases neither confirms nor denies an attribution to the library colonnades. Presumably, the diameter of their lost upper torus would have been the same as that of the lower torus (1.22-1.24m) or slightly smaller, but greater than the diameter of the central double fillets (1.05-1.07m). An upper diameter of around 1.15m is possible, and would be suitable to a 1.10m column with an apophyge, but an equally possible dimension of 1.20m would seem too large. The fact that there are four bases rather than six or eight also suggests another hypothesis, that the bases belonged to the two large columns that once flanked the apse of each library (Figs. 13, 19). Excavation in the libraries might yield decisive information. For the moment, it can be said only that it is very likely that the bases came from in or near the libraries, without specifying more precisely where.

To sum up, eight capitals and perhaps four ornamented bases now in Sta. Maria in Trastevere can be traced to the same one or two colonnades in the Baths of Caracalla. The capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere are in generally good condition, except for the deliberate mutilation of the heads, while at least one of the capitals found within the Baths seems to have been smashed. The archaeological evidence suggests that one colonnade collapsed violently, perhaps rather early, while the other colonnade remained standing until it was stolen. The capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere are the only known examples of their type outside the Baths; presumably they were removed all at the same time and taken directly to the church; otherwise they would not have stayed together as a group. The moment of their removal, therefore, would have been around 1140, when Sta. Maria in Trastevere was being rebuilt. If one colonnade was in fact dismantled, it would have happened at that time. The other colonnade might have already collapsed; if so, some of its capitals were salvaged. Only capitals (and possibly the best preserved bases) were taken to Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The column shafts were abandoned, perhaps because they were too tall for the church. They may have been reused elsewhere, in the twelfth century or later.

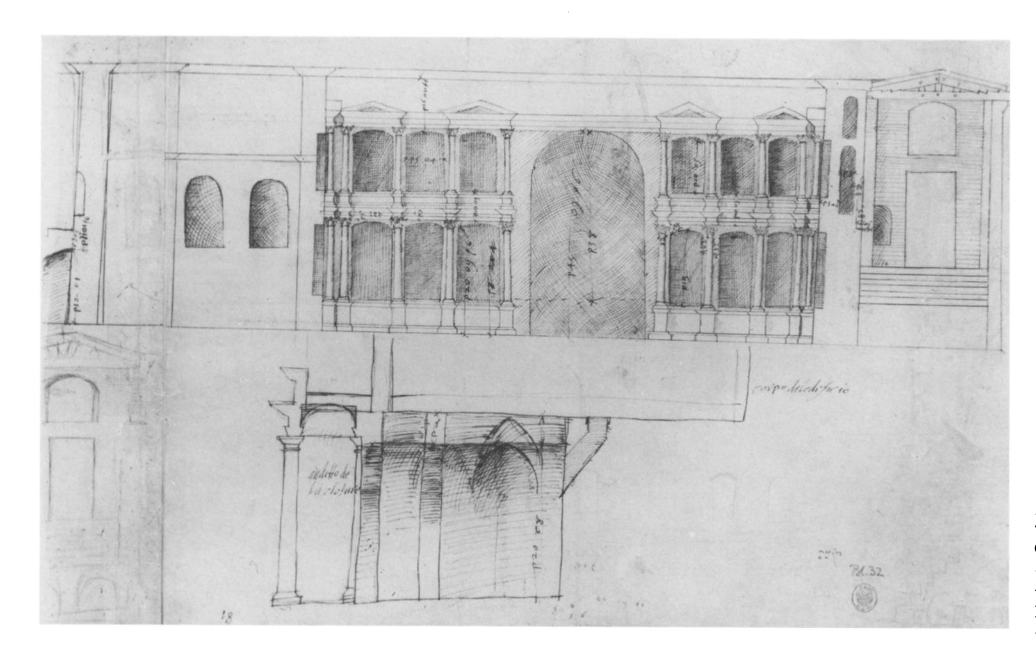
The Status of Roman Architectural Marbles in the Middle Ages

The removal of marble ornament from the Baths of Caracalla by Pope Innocent II is reminiscent of Abbot Suger's

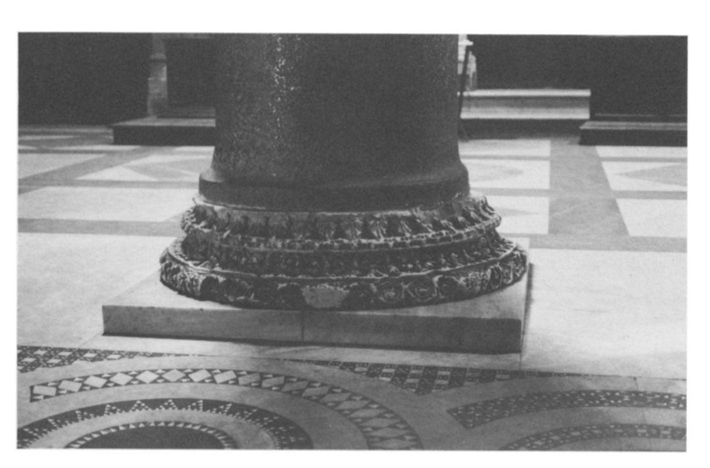
[36] M. Wegner, *Schmuckbasen des antiken Rom*, Münster/Westfalen, 1966, 80. Like so much of the sculpture from the Baths of Caracalla, these bases seem to have disappeared (see nn. 15 and 17 above). I searched for them in 1978 without success.

[37] Wegner, 80.

[38] Hülsen (as in n. 13), 10-11; S.B. Platner, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, rev. T. Ashby, London, 1929, 520-21; E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, II, London, 1962, 434; E.W. Merten, *Bäder und Badegepfogenheiten in der Darstellung der Historia Augusta*, Bonn, 1983, 25-26.



22 Baths of Caracalla, west library, elevation by the Anonymous Destailleur. Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Hdz. 4151, fol. 32r (photo: Staatliche Museen)



23 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, column base S2 (photo: author)

famous scheme to take columns from the Baths of Diocletian to St.-Denis.[39] Suger's project, in turn, has been associated with Abbot Desiderius' acquisition of Roman columns and capitals for the new church at Montecassino.[40] Yet however superficially similar, these episodes could not have been truly alike, practically or symbolically. A brief historical review will make this clear.

The spoliation of public buildings in Rome began in antiquity, and it was countered with protective legislation.[41] Laws preserved in the Theodosian Code and *Novellae* spell out the emperor's ultimate responsibility for public monuments and their *ornatus*, his obligation to conserve the ornament *in situ*, as well as his prerogative to make exceptions. In principle, this jurisdiction pertained in Rome until the end of Byzantine rule in Italy, as witnessed in the



24 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, column base N4 (photo: author)

[39] "De consecratione ecclesiae sancti Dionysii," II, in E. Panofsky, ed., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, rev. G. Panofsky-Soergel, Princeton, 1979, 90-91.

[40] H. Hoffman, ed., *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis; Die Chronik von Montecassino* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXXIV), Hannover, 1980, 394; transl. H. Bloch, in E.G. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art*, I, Garden City, NY, 1957, 10-11. Panofsky (as in n. 39), 230-31; B. Brenk, "Sugers Spolien," *Arte medievale*, I, 1983, 101-05. For a general consideration of these and related sources, see J. Deér, *The Dynastic Porphyry Tombs of the Norman Period in Sicily*, transl. G.A. Gillhoff, Cambridge, MA, 1959, 117ff.; Esch (as in n. 32), 21ff.; R. Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Princeton, 1980, chap. 7; H. Bloch, "The New Fascination with Ancient Rome," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R.L. Benson and G. Constable, with C.D. Lanham, Cambridge, MA, 1982, 615-36.

[41] *Codex Theodosianus*, XV, I, 14; XV, I, 19; XV, I, 43; *Novellae maioriani*, IV, 1; ed. T. Mommsen, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, I, 2, repr. Berlin, 1954, 804-05, 811; II, *Leges novellae . . .* repr. Berlin, 1954, 161; transl. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Princeton, 1952, 424-25, 428, 553. See also F.W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, Munich, 1975, 95ff.

sixth century by the registers of the Gothic kings,[42] and in the seventh century by the intervention of the Emperor Constans II, who was perfectly within his rights when "he pulled down all of the things that were of bronze in the ornament of the City; and he even took the bronze roof-tiles from the church of St. Maria ad Martyres, and he sent them to Constantinople. . . ."[43] The end of the exarchate in the eighth century meant a change of legal title. The areas of the empire not claimed for the Frankish kingdom were taken by the pope, the city of Rome first among them.[44] The so-called Donation of Constantine describes some of the implications of this transfer, albeit in anachronistic guise.[45] In theory, the pope's new position included protective jurisdiction over all of the public *ornatus* in his realm. Evidence that the theory was applied in practice is offered by a letter of Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne, in which the pope grants the king permission to remove mosaic and marbles from the palace in Ravenna — a city at least nominally under papal control.[46]

Between the eighth and the twelfth centuries this legal situation did not change in principle, but it was hardly ever in effect. For much of this period the history of Rome resembles nothing so much as the plot of a Western movie — a repetitive saga of rapine and murder, in which everyone, including the hero, is an outlaw.[47] The prevailing cynicism and uncertainty about property rights is nicely summed up in Robert Guiscard's vow to Pope Gregory VII that he would respect the lands of Saint Peter "after I have ascertained that you own them."[48] In this dismal interlude many public buildings were seized and fortified by the stronger baronial families, while others were ruined and plundered, and the public *ornatus* was actively sold off. It was in these conditions, in the 1060's, that Abbot Desiderius was able to acquire "a quantity of columns, bases, and capitals as well as marbles of different colors," by getting in touch with his "very good friends" and by paying out "handfuls of money."[49]

About one hundred years later a decree of the Roman senate gives evidence of a very different point of view. In 1162, the senate ruled that the Column of Trajan, with the church of St. Nicholas at its foot, rightfully belonged to the abbess of the monastery of St. Cyriacus; but, for the good of the "public honor of the City" the senate itself guaranteed the column's protection from anyone who might try to harm it, "so that it might remain whole and undamaged, as long as the world endures."[50] The spirit of this proclamation is unlike anything that the preceding centuries would lead us to expect. It exhibits an understanding of the *opus publicum* resembling that defined by ancient Roman law — by which it very probably was inspired.

The study of Roman law was revived in the late eleventh century, and by the early twelfth century the entire *Corpus iuris civilis* was being taught and glossed in Bologna.[51] The second part of the *Corpus*, Justinian's *Codex*, contains specific legislation pertaining to the architectural *ornatus* of cities. Underlying all of these laws is the principle that it was the ruler's responsibility to regulate and protect all visible ornamentation, for the good of public appearance. On these grounds restrictions were laid even on the ornament of private property:

> It is forbidden by an edict of the divine Vespasian and by decree of the Senate to demolish buildings and to remove their marbles for the purpose of commerce. Exceptionally, it is permitted to move materials from one house to another, but the owner may not make transfers in such a way that by the tearing down of whole buildings the public appearance is spoiled.[52]
>
> No one may remove or move columns or statues of any material from this or another province.[53]

[42] Cassiodorus, *Variae*, II, xxxv, xxxvi; III, ix, x, xxxi; IV, xxiv, xxx, li; VII, xiii, xv, xliv; x, xxx, ed. ÅA.J. Fridh, in *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Senatoris Opera*, I (*Corpus Christianorum*, ser. lat. XCVI), Turnhout, 1972, 82, 83, 104-05, 119-20, 158, 161-62, 177-79, 272-73, 274- 76, 292-93, 412-14; T. Hodgkin, *The Letters of Cassiodorus*, London, 1886, 190, 202-03, 213-14, 247, 249-50, 263, 329-31, 343-44, 442-44. For the context, see Krautheimer (as in n. 40), chap. 3, and B. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy A.D. 300-850*, Oxford, 1984, esp. chap. 10. The latter work was kindly brought to my attention by Caroline Smitter.

[43] *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, I, repr. Paris, 1955, 343; in an earlier *vita*, the Emperor Heraclius gives permission to the pope to strip the bronze plates from the Temple of Rome (*ibid.*, 323). Krautheimer (as in n. 40, p. 89) observed that when Constans II confiscated its roof tiles, the Pantheon had been "Church property . . . for sixty years." Yet legally, the emperor would have retained the rights to its metals; see Cassiodorus, *Variae*, VII, xliv, ed. Fridh (as in n. 42), 293; Hodgkin (as in n. 42), 343-44; Ward-Perkins (as in n. 42), 207.

[44] P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, Berkeley, 1972, chap. 1, esp. 30ff.; T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825*, Philadelphia, 1984, esp. chap. 5. Ward-Perkins (as in n. 42, p. 205) posits an earlier, de facto papal takeover in the 7th century. The territories officially allotted to the papal government are enumerated in the papal-imperial pact of 817: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, Hannover, 1883, 353. On the status of this document, see Noble, 148ff.

[45] Noble, 137.

[46] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae*, III, Berlin, 1892, 614, no. 81; the suggested date is 787. See also P. Verzone, "La distruzione dei palazzi imperiali di Roma e di Ravenna e la ristrutturazione del Palazzo Lateranense nel IX secolo nei rapporti con quello di Costantinopoli," in *Roma e l'età carolingia: Atti delle Giornate di studio, 3-8 maggio 1976*, Rome, 1976, 39-54; Ward-Perkins (as in n. 42), 205. On the struggle for Ravenna, see Noble (as in n. 44), 168ff.

[47] F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, transl. A. Hamilton, III, London, 1895; IV, 1, London, 1896; more recently Partner (as in n. 44), chaps. 2-4.

[48] Quoted by Partner, 131-32.

[49] *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. Hoffmann (as in n. 40), 394; transl. Bloch (as in n. 40), 10-11.

[50] F. Bartoloni, *Codice diplomatico del Senato romano dal MCXLIV al MCCCXLVII*, Rome, 1948, 25-27, no. 18; see also R.L. Benson, "Political *Renovatio*: Two Models from Roman Antiquity," in *Renaissance and Renewal* (as in n. 40), 339-59.

[51] W. Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca, NY, 1975, chaps. 2 and 3; S. Kuttner, "The Revival of Jurisprudence," in *Renaissance and Renewal* (as in n. 40), 299-323.

[52] *Codex Iustinianus*, VIII, x, 2, ed. P. Krueger, *Corpus iuris civilis*, II, repr. Berlin, 1959, 334.

[53] *Codex Iustinianus*, VIII, x, 7; ed. Krueger, 334.

As for public property:

> No judge should be so foolhardy . . . as to dare to remove, or to transfer elsewhere, without the command of Your Sublimity, *ornamenta* or marbles or any kind of adornment from diverse [public] works, if it proves that they are in the use or *ornatus* of the city.[54]

There may be evidence of the impact of this legislation on twelfth-century popes in John of Salisbury's account of the visit of Bishop Henry of Winchester to Rome in the papacy of Eugene III (1145-53). According to John, the bishop "*obtained permission* before leaving to buy old statues at Rome, and had them taken back to Winchester."[55] The context makes it clear that the permission was granted by the pope. Presumably the pope was somehow regulating the acquisition of antiquities, protecting the urban *ornatus* in the spirit of the Code, at least in theory. In practice, of course, such regulation could become simply another source of income, including bribes. Bishop Henry "paucis et pauca dedit," but the mention of this remarkable fact is preceded by a blast against the "inborn, inveterate, and ineradicable avarice" of the Romans, who "all love gifts and strive for rewards."[56]

In 1162, the senate clearly thought that it was its job, not the pope's, to protect and control the *ornamenta* of Rome. Documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also attest senatorial jurisdiction.[57] In 1140, however, the senate did not exist; it was refounded in 1143, as Pope Innocent II was dying. His papacy was one of the few moments in medieval Roman history in which the tutelage of the ancient patrimony was solely and indisputably the pope's.

In transferring spolia from the Baths of Caracalla to Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Pope Innocent II was exercising a unique papal prerogative. It cannot be proved explicitly that he knew this, but it is very unlikely that he did not. The pope who was buried in the porphyry sarcophagus believed to have been the Emperor Hadrian's surely knew the kinds of privileges attributable to his office, even if he did not adduce specific laws.[58] I am suggesting, therefore, that the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere were, in part, a deliberate demonstration of the imperial prerogatives of the basilica's papal founder, and that the demonstration was meant to impress the founder's status upon the viewer. This characterization would pertain to all of the spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, of course, not only those taken from the Baths of Caracalla. And the other spolia confirm it. Among contemporary Roman churches, the *ornatus* of Sta. Maria in Trastevere stands out both for quality and quantity. To cite only the most conspicuous example: the 104 marble modillions supporting the cornice of the nave entablature (Fig. 1) are actually pieces of seventeen smaller ancient cornices, cut up. The use of ornamented marbles in this position is gratuitous, and it is unparalleled in other trabeated churches of the period, where plain, simply molded corbels were used. A motive of ostentation seems undeniable, and the same motive is apparent elsewhere, in the rich ancient frames of the three eastern portals, in the elaborate imposts of the triumphal arch, the supports of the cathedra, and — before it was replaced in the nineteenth century — in the pavement.

Ancient architectural marbles were extremely expensive in the Middle Ages. They are rarely mentioned in medieval sources without some allusion to their cost.[59] The pope, by virtue of his office, would not have been obliged to pay for them, and this may be another reason why there are so many in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. But this factor was invisible; on the contrary, the smaller the expenditure required, the richer could be the visible effect. Again one is reminded of Abbot Suger, filling St.-Denis with precious objects and costly materials, and drawing attention to the "expense" of his work in an inscription on the door.[60] Pope Innocent's *ornatus* was equally ostentatious, but it was also distinctively Roman, and thereby distinctively papal.[61]

Isis and Serapis in Medieval Mythography

The aura of imperial privilege is among what might be called the implicit meanings of the spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The explicit meaning, expressed by the figured capitals, is more difficult to recover, precisely because it was more specific. Assuming that the twelfth-century viewer observed the pagan images, he must have identified them either correctly — that is, with their intended ancient reading as Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates — or otherwise, according to a medieval rationale.

The intended reading was not wholly inaccessible to twelfth-century viewers, but even for experts the iconography would have been arcane. Twelfth-century mythographers — Alberic of London and the still anonymous

[54] *Codex Iustinianus*, VIII, XI, 13; ed. Krueger, 339.

[55] ". . . Accepta licentia rediens ueteres statuas emit Rome, quas Wintoniam deferri fecit." M. Chibnall, transl., *John of Salisbury's Memoirs of the Papal Court*, London, Edinburgh, etc., repr. 1962, 79. The date was probably 1149-50: *ibid.*, 91-94.

[56] *Ibid.*, 80.

[57] L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri*, Rome, 1891, 45, XLII; 65, CC; 66, CCXI, etc.; A. De Boüard, "Gli antichi marmi di Roma nel medio evo," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXXIV, 1911, 242-45; Esch (as in n. 32), 24-26.

[58] On the sarcophagus, see R.U. Montini, *Le tombe dei papi*, Rome, 1957, 190, no. 165; Deér (as in n. 40), 146ff.

[59] Deér (as in n. 40), 117-19; to his sources may be added Abbot Bono of Pisa (ca. 1040), quoted by D. Cattalini, "Un capitello da Roma a San Piero a Grado," *Prospettiva*, XXXI, 1982, 74.

[60] "De rebus in administratione sua gestis," XXVII, ed. Panofsky (as in n. 39), 46-47.

[61] Brenk (as in n. 40), 103, has asserted the papal connotations of Roman spolia on different grounds. See also F. Gandolfo, "Simbolismo antiquario e potere papale," *Studi romani*, XXIX, 1981, esp. 18ff.

"Digby Mythographer" — were not ignorant of Isis and her husband Osiris.[62] They knew them as the peculiar gods of Egypt, with legends closely tied to Egypt and the Nile. Osiris, "like Dionysos among the Indians," is said to have invented viniculture for the Egyptians.[63] Isis, "Genius Aegypti," was depicted, according to Alberic, with a *sistrum* ("a kind of trumpet or organ") in her right hand and a bucket in her left hand; with the movement of the *sistrum* she signified the movements of the Nile, and with the bucket the flooding of its pools.[64] The Hellenized images on the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere have neither these attributes nor the distinctively Egyptian features that the mythographies would lead one to expect. *Prima facie*, Serapis' *modius* is a cap, or perhaps a kind of crown, and Isis is an anonymous young woman with long, ornamented hair. The key to the capitals' iconography is Harpocrates, easily recognizable by his gesture; but Harpocrates is not mentioned by either of the twelfth-century mythographers, nor is he recognizable in Servius and Ovid, two of their most important ancient sources.[65]

Harpocrates and his gesture do appear in the *City of God*: "And since in practically all the temples where Isis and Serapis were worshipped there was also an image that seemed to enjoin silence by a finger pressed against its lips, Varro thinks this had the same meaning, that no mention should be made of their having been human beings."[66] This passage occurs in Book XVIII, where Saint Augustine recounts the history of the earthly city during the period corresponding to the time from Abraham to Christ in the city of God. Isis is said to have been an Egyptian queen, possibly the daughter of Inachus, King of the Argives, who taught the art of writing.[67] Serapis was the Argive king Apis, who died in Egypt in the time of Joseph, before the death of Jacob.[68] Isis is also mentioned elsewhere in the *City of God*, notably in connection with the assertion that "in all pagan literature we either do not find at all, or scarcely find, any instances of gods who were not originally men. . . ."[69] This is, of course, one of the principal arguments of the first ten books of the treatise. ". . . Christian truth demonstrates that pagan gods are either useless images or unclean spirits and pernicious demons, or at best only created beings and not the Creator."[70] According to Saint Augustine, the multiplicity and futility of the pagan gods were the result as well as the proof of the fact that the gods were only the creatures of misguided men.

Saint Augustine's acknowledged source for information about Isis and Serapis was Varro, whose writings nearly all were lost during the Middle Ages.[71] *De lingua latina* was partially preserved in one manuscript, written at the end of the eleventh century at Montecassino, which happens to contain a reference to Isis and Serapis and the gesture of Harpocrates: "The first gods were *Caelum* 'Sky' and *Terra* 'Earth'. These gods are the same as those who in Egypt are called Serapis and Isis, though Harpocrates with his finger makes a sign to me to be silent. The same first gods were in Latium called Saturn and Ops."[72]

In the twelfth century, this passage and the *City of God* may have been the only means whereby the imagery of Harpocrates — and by extension of Isis and Serapis — could have been identified in the capitals from the Baths of Caracalla. Other Latin references are too recondite to be construed without prior knowledge of the ancient iconography,[73] while Plutarch's treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, which is the longest extant ancient discussion of these gods, re-

[62] On Alberic, see E. Rathbone, "Master Alberic of London, 'Mythographus Tertius Vaticanus,'" *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, I, 1941-43, 35-38; H. Sjöström, "Magister Albericus Lundoniensis, Mythographus Tertius Vaticanus," *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XXIX, 1968, 249-64; C.S.F. Burnett, "A Note on the Origins of the Third Vatican Mythographer," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLIV, 1981, 160-63. On the Digby Mythographer: J.B. Allen, "An Anonymous Twelfth-Century 'De Natura Deorum' in the Bodleian Library," *Traditio*, XXVI, 1970, 352-64.

[63] Mythographus Tertius (Alberic of London), "De diis gentium," 12.3, ed. G.H. Bode, in *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres*, I, Cellis, 1834, 244. The same author credits Osiris with the invention of the plow (*ibid.*, 7.1, p. 197); according to the Digby Mythographer, Osiris also invented the weaving of linen and wool (V. Brown, "An Edition of an Anonymous Twelfth-Century *Liber de natura deorum*," *Mediaeval Studies*, XXXIV, 1972, 15).

[64] Mythographus Tertius, ed. Bode, 7.4, p. 199. The earlier Mythographus Secundus wrote that she held not a *situla* but a *fistula* (pipe), signifying "a superfluity of tears" (*ibid.*, 106, c. 90).

[65] Alberic also cites a book by Seneca on the religious rites of the Egyptians, which no longer survives: Mythographus Tertius, ed. Bode, 6.3, p. 173; P. Grimal, *Sénèque. Sa vie, son oeuvre*, Paris, 1957, 37.

[66] *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, v, transl. E.M. Sanford, *The City of God against the Pagans* (*The Loeb Classical Library*), V, Cambridge, MA, 1965, 380-81.

[67] *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, iii, transl. Sanford, 376-77.

[68] *Ibid.*, XVIII, v-vi, 378-83.

[69] *Ibid.*, VIII, XXVI, transl. D.S. Wiesen, *The City of God against the Pagans* (*The Loeb Classical Library*), III, Cambridge, MA, 1968, 132-33. For Isis, see *ibid.*, 136-37; VIII, XXVII, 142-43.

[70] *De civitate Dei*, VI, *Praefatio*, transl. W.M. Green, *The City of God against the Pagans* (*The Loeb Classical Library*), II, London and Cambridge, MA, 1963, 280-81.

[71] V. Brown, "Varro, Marcus Terentius," in *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*, ed. F.E. Cranz and P.O. Kristeller, Washington, DC, 1980, 455.

[72] *De lingua latina*, V, 57; transl. R.G. Kent, *On the Latin Language*, I, Cambridge, MA and London, 1938, 54-55.

[73] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX, 692: "quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet," ed. W.S. Anderson, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses*, Leipzig, 1977, 225. Catullus, *Carmina*, 74, 4: ". . . patruum reddidit Arpocratem"; 102: "Si quicquam tacito commissum est fido ab amico . . . factum me esse puta Arpocratem"; ed. K. Quinn, *Catullus: The Poems*, London and New York, 1970, 73, 83. Ausonius, *Epistolae*, XXVI, 27: ". . . tua Sigalion Aegyptius oscula signet," ed. S. Prete, *Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula*, Leipzig, 1978, 282. Martianus Capella, *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, I, 90: ". . . quidam redimitus puer ad os compresso digito salutari silentium commonebat," ed. J. Willis, *Martianus Capella*, Leipzig, 1983, 25. Proving my point, a 9th-century gloss by Remigius of Auxerre identifies Martianus' unnamed *puer* as Cupid: C.E. Lutz, ed., *Commentum in Martianum Capellam*, Leiden, 1962, 138. We do not know what was said in the lost book attributed to Seneca; see n. 65 above.

mained in Greek, and there is little chance that anyone concerned with Sta. Maria in Trastevere would have read it.[74]

The passage in Varro surely was known to some. In the twelfth century, and particularly in the 1130's, the manuscript at Montecassino was closely studied by the monastery's librarian, Peter the Deacon.[75] He made a transcription of sixteen sections of Book V, 41-56, on the topography of ancient Rome.[76] The transcription stops just short of the paragraph mentioning Isis and Serapis, apparently because the following section on ancient deities did not interest him as much. This is a salutary reminder that even the medieval scholar with access to apposite sources would not necessarily have been inclined to mine them in an art-historical way.

Unlike *De lingua latina*, the *City of God* survived in many manuscripts, and in the later Middle Ages the passage concerning Harpocrates had an even wider circulation thanks to its inclusion in the collection of moralized, pseudo-historical tales known as the *Gesta Romanorum:*

> St. Augustine tells that, when once upon a time the Egyptians wanted to deify Isis and Serapis, they proceeded in this way: they set up two images and first they made a law, that anyone who might declare that they were mortals, or who might tell anything about their parentage, would be punished by decapitation. Second, so that the said law would not be unknown to anyone, in every temple where their images were worshipped they placed next to them a small idol with its finger placed on its lips, in this way making the sign of silence to those who entered these temples, and thus the truth would be concealed by everyone.[77]

In the moralization, this anecdote is said to be a warning to prelates against the corruptors of the "ecclesiastici status," who wish to glorify themselves instead of God.

> And surely this idol is worldly fear, because of which no one dares to speak the truth, nor to die for truth, nor to sustain any persecution; indeed on account of this idol those of whom it is the principal duty to die for their flock are made as timid as rabbits; and what is worse, they make idols of silence for others, because if they do not do it, others will defend the truth.[78]

This reading is perfect for the capitals in the setting of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, but it cannot be verified for the twelfth century. The *Gesta Romanorum* may have been compiled toward the end of the thirteenth century; the earliest manuscripts are of the fourteenth century, and they are mostly English and German.[79] The tales are thought to have been *exempla* for preaching, and doubtless they have roots in an earlier oral tradition, but that tradition cannot be traced with certainty to twelfth-century Rome. For the twelfth century, one can safely assume knowledge only of the original passage in the *City of God*, and that, of course, only in certain circles.

The twelfth-century viewer who recognized the intended ancient meaning of the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere would therefore plausibly have been a monk or cleric, steeped in the *City of God*. This learned viewer surely would have done more than simply identify the deities depicted. Like the later moralizer of the *Gesta Romanorum*, he would have seen a larger meaning. In terms of the *City of God*, Isis and Serapis are notorious examples of false gods, "created beings." Harpocrates' gesture of silence illustrates the human collusion necessary to create such idols, and the willful ignorance of those who "although they knew God, . . . did not honour him as God . . . and their senseless minds were darkened. Claiming to be wise, they became fools and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for an image resembling mortal men."[80] The capitals epitomize the progress of the heavenly city in two senses: metaphorically, in their reuse on the supporting columns of a Christian building, and also historically. Historically, the ancient images of Isis and Serapis are authentic "simulacra Aegypti," the idols whose overthrow was prophesied by Isaiah and subsequently effected by the coming of the Church.[81]

Se non è vero, è ben trovato. The moral of the *Gesta Romanorum* suggests that a medieval thinker would not have hit upon this same conceit, partly because he would not have sought his deeper meaning in the same text that provided his point of departure.

> . . . Juno maintained that the libido of men was greater than that of women; Jupiter maintained the opposite. Tiresias, chosen to arbitrate between them, refuted the opinion of Juno and upheld the judgement of Jupiter, saying that the male libido is less than the female by as much as an *uncia* (ounce) is less than a *septunx* (seven ounces). Whereupon Juno, incensed, blinded him. But Jupiter illuminated him with knowledge of the future in the eye of his mind, because it is not permitted to any

[74] J.G. Griffiths, ed. and transl., *Plutarch's de Iside et Osiride*, Cardiff, 1970. H. Wegehaupt, *Plutarchstudien in italienischen Bibliotheken*, Cuxhaven, 1906, 37-42 and 62-63, lists 114 manuscripts; only sixteen contain *De Iside et Osiride* and none of them is dated earlier than the 13th century.

[75] H. Bloch, "Der Autor der 'Graphia aureae urbis Romae,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, XL, 1984, 83-85.

[76] Brown (as in n. 71), 456.

[77] H. Oesterley, ed., *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872, 319.

[78] *Ibid.*, 319-20.

[79] *Ibid.*, 1-2, 256ff. The chapter on Isis and Serapis occurs in eleven manuscripts of the 15th century; see pp. 16, III, 13; 38, VIII, 13; 59, XIV, 26; 68, XVII, 10; 69, XVIII, 15; 91, XXV, 15; 95, XXVI, 13; 116, XXXIV, 12; 140, XLVI, 30; 149, LIII, 45; 159, LIV, 51.

[80] Saint Paul, *Epistle to the Romans*, I, 21-23, quoted in *De civitate Dei*, VIII, xxiii, transl. D.S. Wiesen (as in n. 69), 110-11.

[81] Isaiah, *Prophetia*, 19, 1 (Vulgate version): "Ecce Dominus ascendet super nubem levem, et ingredietur Aegyptum, et commovebuntur simulacra Aegypti a facie eius"; quoted in a different version in *De civitate Dei*, VIII, xxiii, transl. D.S. Wiesen (as in n. 69), 112-13.

god to undo that which another god has done. Just so the Lord the Pope is not able to change the decrees of his predecessor; however, in case of necessity it is permitted [to change them] by dispensation, not by order.[82]

This passage has nothing to do directly with the capitals from the Baths of Caracalla, but it is an authentic twelfth-century gloss on ancient mythological figures. Like the moral of the *Gesta Romanorum*, it jumps abruptly from text to life. In both cases the interpreter relates his ancient anecdote to some contemporary problem that happens to be on his mind. He uses the *exemplum* not to elucidate an underlying theme of the ancient story, but to confirm his own opinion on an issue that to us may seem completely unrelated.

The Pagan Images in Medieval Eyes

The learned cleric who had read the *City of God*, who was able to recall the crucial passage from the fifth chapter of the eighteenth book, and who happened to see the capitals in the Baths of Caracalla (or in Sta. Maria in Trastevere) is an art-historical ideal. He is a historical possibility, but the reality is Benedict, Canon of St. Peter's and presumed author of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, who wrote his guide to Roman antiquities in 1140-43, while Sta. Maria in Trastevere was being built.[83] Canon Benedict surely was interested in the figured capitals, but almost as certainly he did not recognize Isis and Serapis. For the *Mirabilia*, his primary source for pagan gods and rituals was Ovid's *Fasti*, which does not mention any of the three Egyptian gods by name.[84] Benedict's general grasp of ancient Roman iconography is exemplified by his identification of the Quirinal Dioscuri as "Praxitelus et Fidia," and the Capitoline river gods — which in the twelfth century were also on the Quirinal — as Saturn and Bacchus.[85] In retrospect these identifications are justifiable: "Praxitelus et Fidia" comes from the inscriptions on the bases of the statues (Fig. 25), and "Bacchus" could have been suggested by the prominent grapes in the river god's cornucopia (Fig. 26). But though they are understandable, the identifications are also unpredictable from a twentieth-century point of view. Canon Benedict apparently had not come into contact with the spectrum of ancient literary sources available in the libraries of England, Chartres, or Orléans, or in any modern university. He had to make do with what he had, namely what "we read in the oldest annals and see with our own eyes and have heard from our elders."[86] The results were quite unlike anything that a modern investigation would produce. Because our own methods are so different, we cannot reconstruct Canon Benedict's identification of the capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, or even his interpretative mode of thought. But we can at least describe some of his evidence, which would have determined the parameters and the directions of his speculation.

What a viewer like Benedict saw "with [his] own eyes" would have been, again, a bearded male with hat or crown, a woman with ornamented hair, and attending figures with fingers raised to lips. The gesture was known in medieval iconography, and figures who used it had at least two kinds of associations. One was imperial. Roughly contemporary with the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* and the rebuilding of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, Peter the Deacon of Montecassino wrote in the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* that the emperor should have a rose-colored cape

> . . . and on the cape a labyrinth made of gold and pearls, in which there should be a Minotaur with its finger to its lips, made of emeralds, because, just as no one is able to explore the labyrinth, so the counsel of the ruler should not be spread abroad.[87]

Another association of the silentiary was with prayer. André Grabar has shown that in Early Christian times a gesture like Harpocrates' actually was used in prayer, in the superstitious belief that the finger placed in front of the mouth "prevented the entry of the Devil," who would subvert prayer by prompting the expression of inappropriate or sinful thoughts.[88] Iconographically, the gesture denoted the act of praying or singing psalms. The justification for the practice is in Psalm 140 (141), "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense . . . Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth; keep the door of my lips."[89] Although the practice and its iconographic reflection would not have been alive in twelfth-century Rome, the psalm was of course familiar, and a connection between its wording and the visual image could have been discovered independently.[90]

"With [his] own eyes," an observer like Canon Benedict also would have noticed the capitals' context. Benedict — like the builders of Sta. Maria in Trastevere — would have known the capitals *in situ* in the Baths of Caracalla, that is, in the context of the Thermae Antoninianae. The ancient identity of this ruin was known throughout the Middle Ages.[91] *Thermae* were also called "palatia" by medieval writers, and it seems to have been understood that they

[82] Brown (as in n. 63), 22-23; Allen (as in n. 62), 353.

[83] Valentini and Zucchetti (as in n. 7), 5-6. The attribution of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* to Benedictus Canonicus, otherwise generally accepted, has been doubted by B. Schimmelpfennig, *Die Zeremonienbücher der römischen Kurie im Mittelalter,* Tübingen, 1973, 14-15.

[84] *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, cc. 21, 23, 24, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti (as in n. 7), 47, 52, 56.

[85] *Ibid.*, cc. 12, 28, pp. 30-31, 61.

[86] *Ibid.*, c. 32, p. 65.

[87] *Graphia aureae urbis Romae*, ed. P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, III, Stuttgart, 1969, 347-48; Bloch (as in n. 75), 134.

[88] A. Grabar, "Une fresque visigothique et l'iconographie du silence," *Cahiers archéologiques*, I, 1961, 126-28.

[89] Psalm 141:2-3 (King James version); Psalm 140:2-3 (Vulgate version): "Dirigitur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo . . . Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis."

[90] A similar *interpretatio christiana* of Harpocrates has been proposed for a Roman capital reused in SS. Felice e Regolo in Pisa; see G. Tedeschi Grisanti, "Capitelli romani figurati a Pisa," *Antichità pisane*, II, 1975, 16.

[91] Hülsen (as in n. 13), 13.



25 Quirinal Horsemen, view of E. Du Pérac, from *Disegni de la ruine di Roma e come anticamente erano*, ed. R. Wittkower, Milan, 1963 (photo: Pirrocco)

were secular buildings with particular connections to certain emperors.[92] They were not temples, although they might contain temples.[93] Images found in *thermae*, therefore, would not necessarily have been construed as pagan gods.

After 1140 the capitals would have been seen in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Their distribution in the nave colonnades is irregular, but an attentive observer could have noticed that the capitals are disposed in three lateral pairs of male and female: S5-S6, N3-N4, N5-N7, and a transverse pair S8-N8, which may also have been male and female (Fig. 2).[94] The capitals are arranged so that the heads appear as couples, and the viewer who noticed that could hardly fail to see a parallel with the new twelfth-century apse mosaic, which also depicts a prominent couple: Christ enthroned with a queen, who is at once his mother, Mary, and his bride, the Church (Fig. 27).[95] The juxtaposition is so striking that I believe it was intended by the builders of the church. The coupling of the capitals was the deliberate expression of that intention, and an invitation to the viewer

26 *Nile*, Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome (photo: Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, No. 83.970)

to note some kind of relationship between the ancient images and the new one.

In the center of the nave, a capital with a male head (S6) confronts a curious twelfth-century capital, which separates the pair N5-N7. N6 seems to have been made to match the ancient capitals around it, as indicated by its unusually large size and especially by the fact that its back side, like theirs, is unfinished (Figs. 28, 29). Curled within the volutes of this capital are two serpents, brandishing leaves in their mouths that overlap the edges of the ovolo. Due to its position, in the center of the north colonnade where it interrupts an otherwise continuous row of five figured ancient capitals, this twelfth-century capital cannot be overlooked by anyone studying the spolia from the church floor. But from that distance the serpents are not easy to make out.[96]

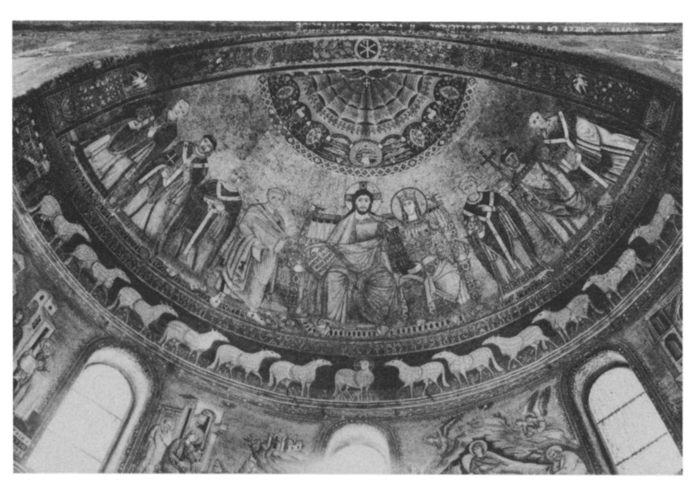
92 *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, c. 28, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti (as in n. 7), 60-61. Abbot Suger, "De consecratione," II, ed. Panofsky (as in n. 39), 90-91. Magister Gregorius, *Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Rome*, c. 15, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Leiden, 1970, 21.

93 *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, c. 28, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti (as in n. 7), 60-61.

94 See n. 4 above for the question of the identity of the head on capital S8.

95 For the complex symbolism of the mosaic, see U. Nilgen, "Maria Regina — Ein politischer Kultbildtypus?" *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XIX, 1981, 24-30, with reference to earlier literature.

96 The serpents were first pointed out to me some years ago by Cecil Striker.



27 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, apse mosaic (photo: E. Richter)



28 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, capital N6, front (photo: author)



29 Sta. Maria in Trastevere, capital N6, rear (photo: author)

In addition to autopsy and oral tradition — the reports of "elders" — Canon Benedict's third main source of information was the "oldest annals." For the Thermae Antoninianae, the annals available to him probably would not have included the source most used by modern scholars, the so-called *Historia Augusta*, of which there are only two complete manuscripts from before the fourteenth century, both written north of the Alps.[97] But he could have known the *Chronicon* of Eusebius in Saint Jerome's translation, which records the following about the life of Caracalla:

> Antoninus Caracalla, so-called because of the kind of garment he made popular in Rome, and conversely *caracallae* [Gallic tunics] are called "Antonianae" after him.
> Antoninus built *thermae* of his own name at Rome.
> Antoninus was so driven by lust that he took his stepmother Julia to wife.[98]

Paul the Deacon's *Historia Romana*, which also was widely known and was certainly available at Montecassino, gives essentially the same account:

> . . . Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus also called Caracalla: he had his family's character, though somewhat more menacing and violent. At Rome he made one excellent work, baths (*lavacri*), which are called "Antonianae," and nothing else worthy of remembrance. Driven by lust, he took his stepmother Julia to wife.[99]

About Sta. Maria in Trastevere, the annals told the following, as reported by Benedict in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae:*

> In Trastevere, where Sta. Maria is now, there was the Temple of the Ravennates, where the earth flowed with oil in the time of the Emperor Octavian; and in the same place was the *Domus meritoria*, where the soldiers were rewarded who used to serve without pay in the Senate.[100]

The evidence of "eyes" and "annals" therefore could have encouraged two kinds of interpretations of the ancient capitals in Sta. Maria in Trastevere: imperial and Christian. The couples could have been seen as emperors and empresses, perhaps connected with the Thermae Antoninianae or with the origin of Sta. Maria in Trastevere (the "Emperor Octavian"). Caracalla, founder of the Thermae,

[97] "Beiträge zur Textgeschichte der Historia Augusta," *Klio*, XIII, 1913, 258-88. One of the two early manuscripts was in Italy by the 14th century, when it was copied for Petrarch. A third manuscript, of the 9th century, contains only excerpts, and a fourth, also possibly of the 9th century, has been lost. For the passages pertaining to the Thermae Antoninianae, see Merten (as in n. 38), 24-25.

[98] J.K. Fotheringham, ed., *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici canones latine vertit . . . Hieronymus*, London, 1923, 295. The medieval manuscripts of the *Chronicon* are "almost countless" (*ibid.*, p. VIII); one of them was made at Montecassino in the 11th century (*Catalogi codicum casinensium antiqui (saec. VIII-XV)*, ed. M. Inguanez, Montecassino, 1941, 5, no. 6; no. 9; F. Newton, "The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino. The *Chronicle* and Some Surviving Manuscripts," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXX, 1976, 44).

[99] *Historia romana*, VIII, 20, ed. A. Crivellucci, *Pauli Diaconi Historia romana*, Rome, 1914, 123. For the use of Paul's *History* at Montecassino, see Bloch (as in n. 75), 69.

[100] *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, c. 31, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti (as in n. 7), 64. The historical sources for the *templum ravennantium*, the *fons olei*, and the *domus* or *taberna meritoria* are discussed by Kinney (as in n. 1), 7-14, 171-79, 354-59.

and Julia, his notorious bride, present an almost perfect contrast to the royal couple depicted in the twelfth-century apse: bad emperor versus good emperor; false queen versus true queen; a lewd, carnal marriage versus the chaste, spiritual union of Christ with his Church. Both rulers marry their mothers; and the incest of the historical fact serves to highlight the correct, non-literal understanding of the theological metaphor in the apse. The parallel is almost irresistible from a twentieth-century point of view. But again, in my opinion, the more it appeals to us the less we can assume that it would have occurred to a twelfth-century viewer. It is too direct and linear, and too abstract. It is more likely that a viewer like Canon Benedict would have read the capitals anachronistically, discovering an *interpretatio christiana* as he did for the Dioscuri in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae.*[101] The *interpretatio christiana* allows many identifications, including Christ and the Virgin, Adam and Eve, and — combining the imperial and the Christian — Old Testament kings and queens.

These readings of the ancient figured capitals have been proposed in relation to an imagined observer, and they are meant to be suggestive rather than absolute or comprehensive. I have not attempted to reconstruct the reading intended by the designers of the church. As already stated, I think that some sort of reading was expected, and suggested by the positioning of the capitals and the implicit correlation with the image in the apse, but the planners did not leave any further clues to their intention. It may be that they relied on a common store of knowledge and experience that we no longer share; or it may be that the juxtaposition of imagery was meant to be open-ended, evocative and potential rather than specific and doctrinaire.

In the end, the most direct indication of a twelfth-century understanding of the figured capitals may be the curious snakes in the volutes of capital N6 (Fig. 28). These barely visible creatures are not the work of the subtle and rational thinkers who planned the church with its resonant ornamentation; rather, I think, they are the intuitive and personal response of a modest craftsman, faced with the task of making a capital "like" the ancient figured capitals to be displayed on either side. Serpents connote evil, and as a spontaneous reaction to the ancient capitals these snakes may be the twelfth-century equivalent of the nineteenth-century attempt to eliminate the pagan heads. The reasons for such gestures could range from an offended sense of decorum (pagan images do not belong in Christian churches) to outright fear (ancient sculptures are the favored abode of demons, as Saint Augustine and preachers after him tenaciously insisted).

Spolia were like relics, which derive their efficacy from the virtues of a saint in his lifetime, but owe their existence to the fact that the saint is dead.[102] This distinction is perhaps easier to articulate than to believe. A purely aesthetic or intellectual appreciation of ancient marbles presupposes a conviction that the ancient past, with its idolatry and demons, is truly dead. Panofsky may have been right that no one in the twelfth century could believe this, but certainly there were men then who knew in their minds that it must be so.[103] Such men included collectors like the Bishop of Winchester, antiquarians like Canon Benedict, and, I submit, the patron and designers of Sta. Maria in Trastevere; but they probably did not include the craftsmen who actually made the church. Similarly in the nineteenth century, the attitude toward antiquities of the pope and the architect who controlled the restoration of Sta. Maria in Trastevere was not shared by the workmen who cleaned — and partially destroyed — the capitals. Among other things, the spolia in Sta. Maria in Trastevere are useful as reminders that the meaning of images lies not only in intention but in response; that response is emotional as well as intellectual; and that response can vary more from one viewer to another contemporary than from one intellectual era to the next.

A specialist in fourth-century art and architecture and the city of Rome throughout the Middle Ages, Dale Kinney has published articles on medieval architecture in Milan as well. [Department of History of Art, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010]

Appendix

Column Shafts in the Nave of Sta. Maria in Trastevere[1]

Height[2]	Diameter	Material	Location
5.88 m.	0.79 m.	granite from Troas	S 11
5.87	0.79	Italian granite	N 11
6.32	0.80	Italian granite	S 10
6.36	0.80	Italian granite	N 10
6.26	0.81	granite from Aswan	S 2
6.40	0.83	*granito del foro*	S 7
6.23	0.86	*granito del foro*	S 4
6.26	0.87	granite from Aswan	N 2
6.29	0.88	Italian granite	S 1
6.34	0.90	Sardinian granite	N 1
6.15	0.91	granite from Aswan	S 9
6.05	0.95	*granito del foro*	N 5

[101] *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, c. 12, ed. Valentini and Zucchetti (as in n. 7), 30-31.

[102] The analogy with relics was suggested by the title of W.S. Heckscher's valuable article, "Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-38, 204-20.

[103] E. Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, repr. London, 1970, chap. II, esp. 104-13.

[1] For the sources of these data see n. 33 above.

[2] "Height" is the column's present height. Many are broken and originally were taller.

6.29	0.96	*granito del foro*	S 5
5.99	0.96	*granito del foro*	N 6
6.04	0.96	granite from Aswan	N 9
6.44	0.96	*granito del foro*	N 12[3]
6.43	0.97	*granito del foro*	S 12
6.35	0.98	*granito del foro*	N 4
6.25	0.98	*granito del foro*	N 7
6.03	1.00	Sardinian granite	S 3
5.95	1.02	*granito del foro*	S 6
5.96	1.03	Italian granite	N 3
5.97	1.04	Italian granite	N 8
5.99	1.07	granite from Aswan	S 8

[3] Columns N 12 and S 12 are under the triumphal arch.